

874 that number of inhabitants, had 541 students in its medi-
 727 cal school.³⁷ Medical institutes were also reopened in Stalino,
 186 Dniepropetrovsk, and Vinnitsa, and perhaps in other cities, al-
 though it is doubtful if any of these were the centers of national-
 ist youth organization which the faculty in Kiev became under
 the leadership of the OUN-M.³⁸

The educational structure described in the preceding paragraph
 was designed for adolescents or young adults, and thus could be
 used for direct propagation of nationalist concepts. It was, of
 course, partly for this reason that the Germans confined advanced
 training within such narrow limits. Even these restrictions were
 not the end of the difficulties faced in inculcating a nationalist
 type of education in those about to assume the role of citizens,
 [466] for the technical schools were frequently emptied of their stu-
 dents and faculty to meet the demands of the *Ostarbeiter* recruit-
 ers. The elementary schools were also drained of teachers by the
Ostarbeiter program, and the pupils, though too young for forced
 labor, were decimated by famine and plague. If the task of
 building national consciousness had to be viewed as a long-term
 one, then the four-year elementary school offered a considerable
 field for cultivation.³⁹

191 The problem confronting the nationalist leaders in education
 727 was twofold: they had to ensure a basis for the development of
 an independent Ukraine by making certain that all instruction
 872 was in the Ukrainian language, so that the rising generation
 186 would be fully at home in this speech; and they had to replace
 the Communist ideology by a positive nationalist concept. The
 first task was relatively uncomplicated, though far from easy in
 practice. In line with their policy of encouraging the purely non-
 political aspects of Ukrainian nationality, the Germans ordered
 all instruction to be in Ukrainian. The nationalist directors en-
 thusiastically supported this rule, but it was sometimes difficult
 to enforce it, since even teachers who were themselves nationalist
 in sentiment were not always able to conduct classes in Ukrain-
 ian.⁴⁰

³⁷ Occ. E-4 (1); *Ukrains'ka Diisnist'*, October 10, 1942, p. 1.

³⁸ See Chapter V.

³⁹ In Kiev alone there were fifty elementary schools with 17,000 students (*Kra-
 kiiv's'ki Visti*, April 11, 1942, p. 2).

⁴⁰ Tarkovych in *Krakiiv's'ki Visti*, July 12, 1942, p. 4; M. Prykhod'ko in *Krakiiv's'ki*

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It was much more difficult to secure a predominant place for the nationalist ideology in the schools. As is usually the case in nationalist indoctrination in the schools, the efforts were concentrated upon the teaching of history.⁴¹ This was especially important, since the justification of the Ukrainian independence movement is largely based upon the conception of a proud history distinct from that of the people of Moscow. Naturally enough, no Soviet textbooks were acceptable for the teaching of history from this point of view or from the general standpoint of eradicating Communist indoctrination. To some extent the gap was filled by books published in the year preceding the Soviet war by the educational press of the Ukrainian Central Committee in Cracow.⁴² Some texts were printed by the cultural department of the Kiev city administration. An amateurish effort was made also by certain OUN-B organizers to print locally a new version of Ukrainian history with an introduction of their own composition.⁴³ In view of the great material shortages and the brief time available, however, the lack of printed materials could not be made good. Consequently, a great deal depended on securing the proper teachers. To what extent the many thousands employed in the schools adhered to the nationalist doctrine is of course impossible to determine, but a number of purely indigenous formulations of nationalist concepts to be inculcated in the schools attest to the strength of nationalist feeling. The head of the Mariupol' school system proposed to stress the native language, love of the fatherland, and respect for elders; the educational ideology advocated by the group of young men who reorganized life in Krivoi Rog was instillation of Cossack ideals, the code of the Zaporozhian Sich, which was to lead to a spiritual, moral, and physical regeneration.⁴⁴

Since the formal school program was largely confined to young children, great efforts were also concentrated on developing a voluntary system of adult education. The Prosvita societies had

Visti, June 5, 1942, pp. 3-4; *Krakivs'ki Visti*, January 27, 1943, p. 4, quoting D. Nitsenko in *Nova Ukraïna* (Kharkov).

⁴¹ Prykhod'ko in *Krakivs'ki Visti*, June 5, 1942, pp. 3-4.

⁴² Druzhynnyk in *Krakivs'ki Visti*, October 10, 1941, p. 2.

⁴³ Zynovii Matla, *Pivdenna pokhidna hrupa* (The Southern Task Force) (Munich: Tsitsero, 1952), p. 28.

⁴⁴ *Krakivs'ki Visti*, September 29, 1942, p. 2; November 15, 1941, p. 2; and November 18, 1941, p. 3 (referring to an article in *Dziin* [Krivoi Rog], September, 1941).

● 872 In the primary schools only Russian was taught until recently, but in those kept by the *zemstvos* and Ukrainian societies Ukrainian is now also taught. In the secondary schools, which exist only in the larger towns, French and German instruction is given. In the German colonies there are German local schools (private), mostly primary. In the large towns of the western Ukraine and in the Polish colonies and on the large estates there are Polish private schools, which have been officially recognized since 1905. It is impossible to estimate the number of Ukrainians who went to universities, because many of them went to Russian universities outside the Ukraine or to foreign universities; but they can only have been a small percentage of the total number of literates.

204 The majority of the newspapers in the Ukraine were Russian. Each Government and each district had its own *Viedomosti*; and there were many Russian papers in Kiev. There were fewer Polish papers, chiefly in Kiev and the western Ukraine. The Germans had local papers in their colonies. The Ukrainians had, up to 1917, some eighteen newspapers, but some of them were printed abroad. In Kiev there were twelve Ukrainian papers, the most popular of which, *Rada*, was started in 1906; in Mohilev one, in Kharkov one, in Yekaterinoslav one, in Moscow one. One of the earliest Ukrainian papers printed abroad was the *Ruthenische Revue*, subsequently called *Ukrainische Rundschau*, started in 1903 in Vienna. This list does not include the Ukrainian newspapers printed in Eastern Galicia in a slightly different language and character.

(C) POLITICAL

171 Political conditions in the Ukraine were very much like those in other parts of the Russian Empire, except for special restrictions aiming at russification, e.g. the refusal to appoint the inhabitants of non-Russian districts to important Government positions. But the russification was not so thorough as in Finland